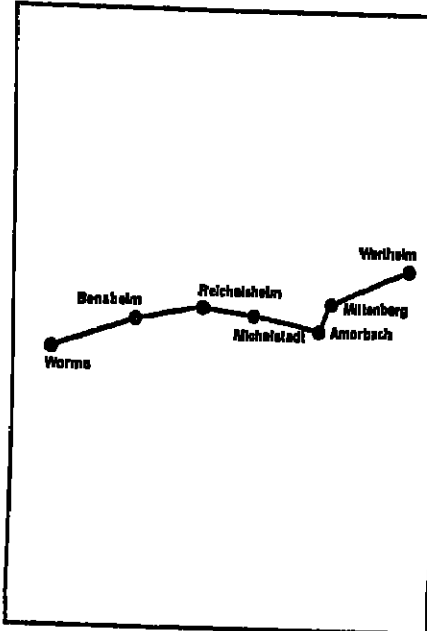


Routes to tour in Germany

The Nibelungen Route



German roads will get you there — to the Odenwald woods, for instance, where events in the Nibelungen saga, the mediaeval German heroic epic, are said to have taken place. Sagas may have little basis in reality, but these woods about 30 miles south of Frankfurt could well have witnessed gale and tragedy in days gone by. In Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, people lived 5,000 years ago. From the 5th century AD the kings of Burgundy held court there, going hunting in the Odenwald.

With a little imagination you can feel yourself taken back into the past and its tales and exploits. Drive from Wertheim on the Main via Miltenberg and Amorbach to Michelstadt, with its 15th century half-timbered *Rathaus*. Cross the Rhine after Bensheim and take a look at the 11th to 12th century Romanesque basilica in Worms.

Visit Germany and let the Nibelungen Route be your guide.

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- 2 Miltenberg
- 3 Odenwald
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Bush's Bonn visit boosts Atlantic partnership

Bremer Nachrichten

As US Vice-President George Bush begins his tour of Europe it is already clear there will be neither sensational successes nor dramatic failures. His European tour of countries due to be affected by Nato missile modernisation plans (and of France, which is so important a Nato ally) was not even designed to achieve quantifiable results. Yet Mr Bush's mission is nonetheless a milestone in the history of the Atlantic alliance, and one the Europeans are bound to view more positively than the Americans.

He comes as an advertising executive, it were, to salvage a joint project launched by the Europeans. If need be by accepting requests for amendments, now that the principals no longer feel the terms are ideal. The mere fact of his visit marks a qualitative change in the Atlantic partnership. At one time suspicions were voiced repeatedly that relations were one-sided, the implication being that the

vernments to voice wishes for information or changes at Nato in Brussels or by stating their own case in Washington. Now it is the Americans who have come to the Europeans, and the redistribution of weight to which this change testifies is doubtless due in part to extra-parliamentary protest.

It seems reasonable to assume that one reason for Mr Bush's visit was to take the wind out of the sails of protest. A substantially more crucial point is President Reagan's instructions to Vice-President Bush not to negotiate but to give European viewpoints a good hearing that is surely not intended just to be filed and forgotten.

If Mr Bush had to negotiate it would denote a grave crisis in the alliance, but there is no crisis. Instead, Nato is a working partnership with diverging views on a handful of individual issues.

They are not differences of opinion on aims. No responsible European or American (or anyone in the East Bloc, for that matter) could regard the two-fold zero option as anything other than the ideal solution (and starting point for further disarmament).

Differences exist merely on how negotiations ought best to be conducted, on matters of timing and on readiness to compromise.

Vice-President Bush's European tour is an invitation to Europeans to jointly reappraise the Western approach to security and embark on a process of possible change.

Unimaginatively to envisage giving the Americans a free hand would be to miss European opportunities and to force the United States to shoulder a responsibility it would prefer to share with the Europeans. *Peter W. Schroeder* (Bremer Nachrichten, 29 January 1983)



US Vice-President Bush and Chancellor Kohl in Bonn

(Photo: dpa)

Superpowers resume missile talks in Geneva

In Geneva the envoys of the superpowers are back at the conference table to resume their quest to strike a balance in their worldwide security interests.

No-one expects them to arrive at a swift solution to their negotiations despite all the appeals for peace, the fear of missiles and the use of the term "zero option" as little short of a magic spell.

In Western Europe and the United States the missile modernisation option is unpopular. But if the West were to dispense with missile modernisation it would be leaving the Soviet Union well in the lead in this arms sector.

This is something America will not allow to happen. The United States is

not going to leave the Europeans to their fate with their strictly limited nuclear weaponry.

So advocating zero options of one kind or another can only be an ongoing political appeal to the superpowers to strike a security balance at as low a level as possible.

What this means is that the Russians will not be able to avoid scrapping or withdrawing some of their SS-20s, while Nato will have to embark on missile modernisation to some extent.

There are signs that both sides in Geneva are well aware this is the case. There are said to be papers going the rounds that were drawn up at previous rounds of US-Soviet disarmament talks.

But these working papers are reported not yet to have met with official approval by the US and Soviet governments.

Given the different kinds of weapon and delivery system in East and West, arriving at arms parity is a problem that is hard to solve in any case.

Yet neither side is willing or able to abandon the principle.

This need not make the situation hopeless. In the past America and Russia have reached agreement on strategic arms limitation, so they are capable of coming to terms.

Partial successes in Geneva will depend in the final analysis in part on a uniform and firm stand being taken by the Nato states.

As long as the Kremlin can hope by means of massive propaganda to persuade the Germans or other members of the North Atlantic pact to dispense with a military counterweight entirely, it will not have much to offer at the Geneva conference table. *Richard Munders* (Nordwest Zeitung, 27 January 1983)



En route for Geneva and missile talks with the Soviet Union US disarmament negotiator Paul Nitze stopped over in Bonn for talks with Chancellor Kohl, Defence Minister Wörner and SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr. He is here welcomed by Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (right). (Photo: dpa)

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Europeans had to jump when the Americans said so.

In this case such insinuations can be proved. The Americans are engaged in a bid to find points in common; they are not forcing them on anyone.

In the case in question it would be difficult to do so. The US-Soviet talks in Geneva are a matter of nuclear missiles the Americans and Russians have mentioned or plan to base in Europe.

It is obviously an idea worth considering to hold intensive consultations with countries immediately affected in the event of hostilities and to include them at all stages of the decision-making process.

In the past the rule in the North Atlantic pact has been for European go-

Balance of power cannot disregard the French nuclear potential

Even experienced diplomats at the Bonn Foreign Office were taken aback by the forthright way in which President Mitterrand in his Bundestag speech ruled out the mere possibility of France's arms potential being taken into consideration by the superpowers at arms control talks.

They were not expecting a Socialist head of state, even a French one, to state an admittedly traditional French viewpoint so bluntly that German Social Democrats, in the middle of a general election campaign, could hardly fail to feel speechless.

The Social Democrats may, incidentally, feel annoyed, but they are not really upset. The French security concept was well-known, and the motives behind stating it so clearly at this stage seem straight up-and-down.

On the face of it, the present Bonn government was gratified by M. Mitterrand's speech. His refusal to allow French medium-range missiles to be taken into account by Soviet and US negotiators in Geneva is grist to the mill of current Bonn arms control policy.

Counting the 162 British and French medium-range missiles against comparable Soviet missiles is to construct an artificial parity suited to Soviet requirements.

Lothar Ruehl, state secretary at the Bonn Defence Ministry, sees only one Soviet objective: "to decouple the security of Western Europe from that of North America."

All attempts to envisage the view-



point of political adversaries are nipped in the bud by arguing that a Soviet monopoly in the intermediate-range sector cannot be accepted.

A Soviet monopoly of medium-range missiles, on the other hand, could only occur on the basis of the zero option as currently defined by Nato.

By this definition zero means the Soviet Union scrapping its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, with the West dispensing with missile modernisation this autumn.

Nato's contribution would thus be not to go ahead with the deployment of US Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe as provided for in the terms of the December 1979 Nato resolution.

This double-zero option does not take British and French weapon systems in the intermediate-range sector into account.

France in particular looks on its nuclear weapons as an independent factor for which the French head of state enjoys sole responsibility and which forms a groundwork of French sovereignty.

But France also sees itself as a member of Nato, M. Mitterrand again reassured Bonn.

The two arguments, arranged side by side, are not entirely free of contradictions, which is why they are ill-suited for convincing the Soviet Union of the

limited role to be played by French nuclear weapons.

It is far from difficult to imagine that the Soviet Union is bound to feel French nuclear missiles are aimed at Russia too.

Political circles in Bonn, mainly in the SPD, show understanding for this subjective Soviet viewpoint.

A zero option as here outlined is not exactly in the French interest, let it be said.

Convinced on the quiet of the vulnerability of its own nuclear shield, France counts on a massive missile build-up to its east in the Federal Republic of Germany.

France decided to set up a nuclear force of its own so as not to have to rely entirely on US guarantees of protection.

Yet whenever there is felt to be the slightest sign that the Germans might seek to avoid this protection the French reaction is hectic.

French fears then lead to such gruff refusals as M. Mitterrand's in Bonn.

The Christian Democratic-led Bonn government makes an outward show of fully agreeing with the French viewpoint, but full agreement will probably only be felt by the CSU in Bavaria.

Herr Strauss, the CSU leader, has been scathing about the zero option. His aim is to bring about a minimum of missile modernisation.

At the Foreign Office in Bonn, on the other hand, there is a growing realisation that a balance of power in Europe cannot be struck without the French

(and British) medium-range missiles.

Social Democrats completely disenchanted on the eve of a general election. The campaigners are lethargic, and their forced smiles tend to petrify into a duction in numbers.

For this reason alone it is felt that an absurd idea to want to simply look the French missiles.

The political consequence of such assessment would have been to activate in recent years forgotten tensions of the Franco-German pact.

Yet only the Christian and Democratic Bonn coalition saw fit to go further, and the chasm between the voters the people they elect keeps widening.

Neither the ruling coalition nor Opposition in Bonn harbours illusions of being able to influence French policy in any way even though might affect the existence and the territory of the Federal Republic.

Deeper insights might argue that if Bonn in return were to move to more intensive arms cooperation with the French.

That is something on which the French are very keen. They expect to ease their economic problems a little.

It is doubtless in the Federal Republic's national interest to learn about French nuclear strategy. To become more expert in coping with the problems. As a result, many of those who have been voted in keep chasing their own tails in a merry-go-round of party propaganda.

With due consideration for the interests of the executive bodies of the parties after its own interests in the interplay between the United States and the Soviet Union and, last not least, the actual terms.

Sten Mannes: They are no longer prepared to swallow everything that is dished out to them, yet it is nevertheless the loudmouths who dominate the scene.

Manfred Wörner, his Defence Minister, is the first Defence Minister to have travelled to Geneva and shown that need not just look on idly.

A prudent and responsible politician, the present critical stage of the talks, which are slowly heading for a decision, calls for a realistic assessment of the situation.

Herr Vogel, the SPD Shadow Chancellor, the SPD Shadow Chancellor, is to be added to anti-communism to their campaign, acting as if the Soviet Union could be forced to its knees given enough toughness.

The SPD left-wingers, let alone the right-wingers, are dominated by anti-American slogans.

Examples can be found everywhere: Years of Socialism are enough, say the conservatives, as if years had been hell.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, talk of Taking from the Poor to give to the Rich, as if social disaster and hardship were just around the corner.

One could, of course, disregard all this, realising that campaigners, like other players, need their jokers. Behind the legions of campaigners need something to stir the embers. Even the best of clichés will do.

Yet there is the positive fact that the number of card-carrying members of political parties has grown conspicuously, especially in the CDU.

Christian Democratic membership has more than doubled in the past ten years and now stands at 700,000. The SPD has grown more slowly and now has about 180,000 members.

The SPD, a typical membership party, has also grown markedly and

Voters undecided except in disenchantment

now has about one million members. Only the FDP has had its ups and downs here.

In any event, this is a positive development. The other side of the coin is growing political incest, with slogans and clichés tending to lead a life of their own and obsession with one's own cause coupled with growing blindness for the cause of others.

Everybody wants to pat his own back, needing this as a sort of reassurance of his own position.

But democratic consensus ends when there is no longer any willingness to now and then pat the other fellow's back. Yet the other fellow represents the other half of the population.

Some other reasons for the disenchantment are vacillation (now even by the CSU), uncertainty of judgment, ambivalent statements on specific issues and constant contradictions.

Taken by themselves, there would be no reason to pillory these weaknesses. After all, who can say something definitive on the arms issue, the extent and the limits of nuclear energy and the consequences of minimal economic growth?

The annoying thing here is not these uncertainties themselves but the cowardice of not admitting that they exist.

Here, the conservatives are in a particularly unpleasant position. They made a lot of noise demanding a change, which they finally brought about.

But only a few weeks, after coming to power they now find themselves faced with tough political exigencies and are wriggling as the Social Democrats wriggled before them.

If opinion surveys are any guide there will be four parties in the next Bundestag, the SPD, CDU, CSU and the Greens.

The Social Democrats are mentioned first here because the CDU and CSU, as always, stand as independent parties and their coalition has to be solemnly renewed each time.

Only once this is done are they likely to become the strongest grouping in the 10th Bundestag.

If the pollsters are right on yet another score, neither the CDU/CSU nor the SPD will have an absolute majority.

So who will join forces with whom is a question that is more important than it might appear during the campaign.

If the new election, brought about by a somewhat questionable vote of no-confidence, is to serve a purpose at all it can only be to bring about a stable majority that will last throughout the next legislative period until 1987.

It would be disastrous if the next Bundestag were to fall apart before mid-term, as happened with the last one, and it would be paralyzing if Bonn were to become as ungovernable as Hamburg was before the December state assembly elections.

If nobody were to get a viable majority in Bonn, the conservatives would be hamstrung despite their relative majority while the Social Democrats would have to engage in tedious negotiations with the Greens to arrive at some common political ground.

What would happen then? In the last

The CDU/CSU promise to reverse a law they themselves enacted only a few weeks earlier has stripped them of what little credibility they might have retained.

It is not because the issue involved is of any major importance but because of the way in which it was done.

In December, they decided that the surtax for higher income brackets was to be repayable; in January they told the public that the taxman would keep the money.

It would seem almost superfluous to talk of the Greens as well. What they have had to say about the main problems of the next five or ten years is so asinine as to make one wonder how otherwise likeable people can come up with this sort of thing.

As one of the delegates to a recent Green congress put it: "What a lot of half-baked rubbish."

Only the Social Democrats seem to have a fair wind at the moment. In fact, many of them are probably rather glad about their party being rid of government responsibility for the moment.

This makes it easier to forget the years of factionalism, in some cases directed against their own government.

Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel seems to be successful in his bid to integrate the party.

His disarmament demand and his emphasis on Green issues have mollified many of his party's left wingers and could well capture some of the young voters who would otherwise have voted Green.

But in the inner circle of the SPD

there is also a certain concern about the party and the Greens together capturing enough Bundestag seats to elect Vogel as Chancellor.

CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss has already warned of this possibility.

To many a top SPD man, it is quite intolerable to contemplate month-long discussions with the Greens about opting out of Nato or shutting down all nuclear power stations.

If this were to happen, the SPD could well be faced with another internal tug-of-war.

Speculation about the outcome of the election also adds to the general disgruntlement. Should the conservatives win, they would be as hamstrung by their unsteady coalition partner as the SPD was before them.

As things stand at the moment, it is unlikely that the conservatives will win the absolute majority.

The more likely outcome is for the SPD to gain slightly, while the fate of the FDP and the Greens remains wide open.

In any event, there is no likelihood at all that the distribution of seats will be such as to make for a strong and stable government that will have a zest for tackling problems.

Herr Strauss, who called for immediate elections after the Schmidt government was toppled, will probably be proved right.

Herr Kohl, on the other hand, opposed elections at that time because he wanted to enter the fray with the Chancellor's bonus.

But the government's image has paled and there are already sounds of discontent coming from CSU headquarters. The new coalition doesn't look too good.

There is not much time left until the March election, and maybe it's just as well.

Hans Helger

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 January 1983)

Zero option does not rule out a compromise

hook, line and sinker or to abandon the zero option once and for all.

Taking up the Soviet leader's proposal would mean accepting a massive Soviet superiority in the medium-range sector without any genuine compensation toward one's own security.

It would amount to renegeing on the December 1979 Nato missile modernisation resolution and leaving European security to Europeans themselves in future.

The alternative would be to submit a formula at Geneva based on the security policy balance that enabled both sides to feel their interests were taken into account.

Viewed realistically, only the second choice is conceivable; the first would be a capitulation to the Soviet threat.

So those who are determined to harbour no illusions can but hope that an arrangement may be reached at as low a nuclear level as possible on the basis of this realistic perspective.

In other words, the signs are that Nato will go ahead with missile modernisation to some extent, but the extent will be no means depend solely on the Americans; it will depend on the Russians too.

That is, it will do if they are prepared to scale their demands down sufficiently in the heated debate no less an au-

thority than Helmut Schmidt has reached this sober conclusion.

So is Helmut Kohl now barking up the wrong tree on his own in loyally, persistently advocating the meaningless zero option?

No, he is not, whatever Herr Strauss may have had in mind in making his remark. Herr Kohl's position may be unrealistic but it is by no means pointless.

It is in keeping with what every pacifist and peace-lover would soonest see. There could be nothing more meaningful, if only it were feasible.

The Chancellor is naturally well aware that this ideal solution is beyond reach, but there are good reasons why he is not saying so out loud like Herr Strauss has done.

Now the Americans have adopted the zero option, which was Bonn's brainchild in the first place, Helmut Schmidt's successor cannot on his own publicly advocate abandoning the idea.

Besides, advocating a zero option at Geneva in no way rules out a compromise that will, in the nature of things, be arrived at behind closed doors.

A more serious point is that Chancellor Kohl has chosen to stick to too passive an attitude of loyalty to the United States and is not indicating that in all loyalty to Nato he is strongly in favour of a solution soon, and in keeping with German interests.

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First priority is stable government

Bundestag, the SPD-FDP coalition was toppled as a result of exhaustion, the junior partner's vacillation and growing animosity between the partners.

The subsequent Kohl-Genscher alliance has been unable to deliver on its promises, both in terms of practical issues and in terms of the prevailing atmosphere.

It did not succeed in inspiring new confidence in the nation's political leadership nor did it lastingly improve the political climate of the nation, apart from a brief phase of euphoria.

There has been such an accumulation of mistakes in day-to-day government work as to have made it hard for Bonn-watchers to find the right words in their commentaries.

The tug-of-war over the compulsory loan to the government (in the form of a surtax for the higher income brackets) that might now turn out not to be a loan at all but a non-repayable levy is only one of many examples.

This is hardly political leadership. What it boils down to is a major political party's attempt to please everybody.

The fact that this rubbed the junior coalition partner the wrong way seemed

to be of little importance to the CDU. But the FDP in its turn did little more than raise a verbal hullabaloo.

It did not have the guts to leave the coalition and, thus remain true to its image.

From one day to the next it decided to overlook and forget its own Economic Affairs Minister Coud Lambard's avowals that he would steadfastly oppose any kind of tax increase. (And what, if not a tax increase, is a non-repayable levy?)

Moreover, the Free Democrats have not succeeded in clearly delineating a foreign policy stance.

Reservations about the October 1982 change of government in Bonn expressed by this newspaper at the time still stand.

In essence, they boil down to the fact that Helmut Kohl was bent on becoming Chancellor at all costs and that Genscher was equally bent on remaining Vice-Chancellor.

Political considerations were secondary and the whole thing was wrapped up quickly into a brittle package.

Now there is some speculation about a grand coalition between the Social Democrats and the conservatives after the March election.

If this were to come about, the Greens would assume the role the FDP had during the 1966 Grand Coalition, that of a mini-opposition.

But today's situation in Germany cannot be compared with the pitiful end

Continued on page 8

'Jilted brides' Spain and Portugal jawbone EEC

As chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers for the first half of this year, Bonn has vowed to promote the accession to the Community of Spain and Portugal during this period.

But the Iberian membership applicants have had their fill of declarations of intent. They now expect Germany, which has always championed the swift accession of the two nations, to take concrete action.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher again asserted at the beginning of this year that he would make every effort to push the southward extension of the Community.

As he sees it, member-nations should now be made to honour their undertakings in order to enable the Iberian democracies to join the EEC as soon as possible, thus politically and economically strengthening free Europe.

Bonn has long held that Madrid and Lisbon must become members for political reasons. "They have opted for Europe and their expectations must not be dashed," said Genscher, calling for a speedy conclusion of negotiations. He said that would benefit not only the applicants but Europe as a whole.

In principle, all 10 Common Market countries favour enlargement, but self-interest, notably on France's part, has so far prevented a breakthrough in the talks.

Disillusioned and upset, Spain and Portugal are now wondering whether the European idea is a matter of "civilisation, politics and a common history; or of wine, vegetables, cheese and potatoes."

Both have had democratic governments since the mid-1970s and have thus taken all political hurdles set by the Treaties of Rome.

The disappointed applicants now speak of a hypocritical and ambivalent attitude of the Community, which only last December postponed its decision on Spain and Portugal until this March, when a summit meeting is to be held to clarify open issues.

But the timing could not have been worse because the meeting will coincide with the immediate post-election phase in Germany. As a result, the two applicants can hardly expect any major move from Bonn at that time.

Spain's Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra has already issued a warning, saying his country's Socialist government wants Spain to be a member by January 1985 at the latest.

"Should this not be realised," he said, Spain could well withdraw its application and also review its NATO membership. Madrid has lately shown little inclination to accept mere lip service.

Bonn's ambassador to Madrid, former EEC Commissioner Guido Brundage, tried only a few days ago to set a positive note, saying Germany would use its six months in the chair to accelerate accession talks.

He also told the Spaniards that little could be expected in the first half of 1983, but that Madrid could rest assured that Bonn would afterwards pave Spain's way to Europe.

The situation in Paris is different. Talks about the removal of obstacles have begun and a process of clarification has set in.

The search for solutions went on, but

it was unlikely that there would be a spectacular breakthrough in the immediate future, said Spain's Foreign Minister Moran after a mid-January visit to Paris.

The French position has long been known. Paris first wants to put the 10-member EEC's own house in order before admitting new members.

The main French objective is to protect its farmers. Wine, vegetables and fruit are the big obstacles here.

Spain's and Portugal's accession would add DM3bn in additional costs in the Community's agriculture sector alone. And the present resources are inadequate to meet this added burden.

The Common Market is financially and economically not yet ready for these "new competitors" although it accounts for more than half the two applicants' foreign trade. The accession would thus unbalance the EEC budget.

The complicated subsidies system for farm products already devours two-thirds of the European Community budget.

The accession of Spain and Portugal, through which the EEC's population would rise by 47 million, would call for additional spending or a redistribution of subsidies.

This has so far been thwarted by France's farmers. The Common Market would also be forced to add to its already existing surpluses those of Spain and Portugal — a costly business.

Tension mounts in video war between Europe and Japan

Politicians in Tokyo are becoming increasingly jittery as American and European pressure on industrial giant Japan grows.

They sense that the unchecked flow of Japanese goods to the rest of the world must be channelled in a more orderly fashion.

Stirred out of lethargy by combined European and American disenchantment (the European Community has 12 million jobless or 10.8 per cent of the work force), Japan's Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe rushed to Europe to smooth things out.

He was followed by the Minister for International Trade and Industry, Sadanori Yamaguchi, while Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone went to Washington, where he was given the American point of view.

The EEC is determined to pursue the matter further, and Commission vice-presidents Etienne Davignon and Wilhelm Haferkamp are due to stop up the pressure during their early-February visit to Tokyo.

Only the most generous of European and American businessmen attribute any importance to Japan's declared intention to reduce tariffs for 72 types of merchandise from April.

The total volume of these goods would amount to only DM930m and would thus be out of all proportion to the Japanese trade surplus with Europe, which last year amounted to DM33bn.

There is no getting away from the

Spain, for instance, produces almost as much olive oil as all 10 existing EEC members put together. Citrus and vegetable markets would also be flooded.

Then there is the problem of fishing quotas. Spain's fishing fleet is larger than that of any EEC country, and the Community has only just weathered yet another fish war.

An additional "pirate" could hardly be welcome in the circumstances.

EEC waters have been increasingly closed to the Spaniards in the past few years. But once in the EEC, Spain would have to be given free access to Community fishing grounds.

Yet Community nations have an obligation towards Iberian democracy if they want to uphold the idea of a large, united and free Europe.

Ambivalence and selfishness towards Spain and Portugal can cause enormous damage. After all, the two countries have been trying for more than a decade to become Community members.

By now barely 50 per cent of people in the two countries still believe that membership will bring them advantages. Some 90 per cent don't understand the EEC set-up at all.

There is widespread and growing disappointment with Europe, and some people describe the two applicants as "jilted brides."

There is a spreading view in Lisbon and Madrid that accession to the Community will remain utopian.

Still, Spain's Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez refuses to throw in the towel. He is soon to visit Paris and Bonn in a bid to break the blockade.

Robert Gerhardt
(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt, 23 January 1983)

fact that the Japanese owe everything to their industriousness and inventiveness. This applies particularly to home electronics where Europe lags far behind despite heavy investment and intensive research.

Even before the Benelux countries could come out with a new generation of sophisticated record players, the Japanese were already poised to flood the market with digital players using laser beams and thus providing maximum listening pleasure.

Anticipating this technical revolution in home electronics, the Benelux countries demanded at the recent foreign ministers' conference that tariffs for this type of goods be raised from 9.5 to 19 per cent.

Addressing a symposium, Trade Minister Yamaguchi tried to avert the worst by attacking what he called European tariff chicanery.

But this only served to anger the Europeans even more. They now want to take the case before GATT in a bid to prove that the Japanese are dumping video sets below cost to sink the market prospects of Video 2000, developed jointly by Grundig and Philips.

Of course, the consumer is the great beneficiary in this trade war between Japan and Europe.

Many people abandoned their reluctance to buy video sets when prices suddenly dropped from DM2,400 to below DM1,000. That is the other side of the coin.

Helmut J. Weiland
(Bremer Nachrichten, 29 January 1983)

New member Greece wants more

The Brussels EEC Commission, the member-nations of the Community, knew from the start that Greece, which joined the Community at the beginning of 1981, would be an irksome partner.

In October of that year, when Andreas Papandreu and his Socialist Party came to power, he instantly mandated that the accession terms initiated by the previous conservative government be changed in his favour.

In fact, while campaigning he threatened that Greece would leave the Community.

Greece's economic situation has improved under the new government. Inflation, at 23 per cent, is still the highest in the EEC and per capita GNP is the lowest.

This is largely because 30 per cent of the working population are still workers, compared with an EEC average of 8.5 per cent.

It was obvious something had to be done. But even so, the shocking per cent devaluation of the drachma came as a surprise to Brussels.

In an initial comment, the Commission deplored the fact that it was formed of the intended move.

Though Greece is not obliged to suit its currency because it is a member of the European Monetary Union (EMS), consultations would, nevertheless have been welcomed by other member-nations.

The Commission has not yet commented on the import restrictions went along with the devaluation. It will be done as soon as details have been received and evaluated.

Experts consider a reduction of Greek imports to the volume that existed before the accession as unrealistic. On the other hand, they recall Greece was granted more concessions than any other new Community member, including a five-year transition period (in some agricultural sectors much as seven years) before full integration.

In a memorandum presented last March, Athens even went as far as to ask that the non-tariff protection for imported EEC industrial goods be implemented even after the transition period.

But this is only one of the wishes forward in the memorandum, and calls for more financial support from EEC coffers.

In 1981, the first year of its membership, Greece was a net beneficiary of the DM280m. This is expected to rise this year to close to DM1,500m.

The EEC Commission and the member-nations have not yet dealt Athens' wishes, but are expected to do so in a bid to mollify the Greek government.

Barring this, Mr Papandreu will deliver on his threat to continue flirt with Moscow.

Though he is unlikely to get any economic support from the Kremlin, the Soviets have enough problems (their Comecon satellites) a moment's distraction can certainly not be in their interest of the European Community.

Hans-Peter
(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 January 1983)

ECONOMY

Economic report forecasts zero growth but clear signs of an upswing

Signs of an economic upswing expected in the course of 1983 by Bonn government. Yet they will be accompanied by a slower but continuing growth in unemployment. This forecast of the outlook for the year ahead made in the annual economic report issued by the Economic Affairs Ministry. Zero growth for the year as a whole will not be welcomed by an average of 2,350,000 unemployed, but inflation will be down from 5.3 to four per cent and the year will end with a current account surplus of between DM4bn and DM8bn, the report says.

As usual, Bonn's annual economic report tries to look around several corners. In this way, the government managed to divine all sorts of stabilising factors for the further course of the economy this year.

They include lower interest rates and more housing construction, which are supposed to put the brakes on further plummeting of the economy.

A stagnating GNP in real terms and 3.5 million jobless, together with the prospect of better things to come in 1984 unless something goes wrong in the second half of the year, add up to what Bonn considers the main indicators for this year.

But this might or might not materialise. After all, Bonn has been known to be off target in its reports.

There is also the fact that the annual economic report released at the beginning of the year has increasingly come to be regarded as a review of the year.

But this it is not nor does the Stability Act that laid the groundwork of the report intend it to be any such thing.

The government is not supposed to forecast economic developments for the year but to provide a projection, in other words, a realistic target.

This distinction is not mere semantics, as it might appear: it denotes a clear division of roles between academic observation and political action.

It should be up to specially trained econometrists to make forecasts based on known indicators, while politicians should convert this into political action.

The Economic Affairs Minister is not the lookout but the first officer, whose job it is to chart the course.

The new Bonn government has not made use of the opportunity to elevate its report to the status of an economic timetable.

This has nothing to do with the vaunted legacy the new government took over from the old one. After all, it

is not the report's function to present attractive figures which nobody can actually bring about.

Its function is to come up with a convincing policy aimed at bringing about growth and employment. The trouble is that the new government's policy is set by internal contradictions which detract from the latest report.

Take fiscal, capital and job market policy. The government had decided on tax relief for the business community in 1983 to be followed by more relief next year and, for 1985, it envisages across-the-board income tax reductions, depending on the budgetary situation at the time.

All this has been put under the logical enough heading: "Investment and performance must become worthwhile again."

But then the government decided to impose a surtax for higher income brackets which falls in the category of government skimming rather than incentives for private investors.

How is the business community to have faith in a government growth policy when the government does not even dare to clearly formulate this policy?

The report promises a small step towards capital participation by labour aimed at defusing the conflict between labour and management; but at the same time it kicks the business community in the shin by announcing legislation to promote shorter working lives.

Throughout the past three years industry has rejected all models aimed at reducing working times because this would put a strain on the budget and raise production costs.

Now, the government suddenly favours early retirement plans that must entail two consequences, both equally bad.

If the early retirement cost is to be borne by the parties to collective bargaining only, the resulting pay-outs must lead to intolerable tension in the next round of collective bargaining.

If, on the other hand, the government adopts the trade union view and finances early retirement from the social security pensions fund and the Labour Office unemployment fund, more and more of the government's tax revenue will have to subsidise pension funds.

This, in turn, must lead to further cut-backs in social benefits and, above all, to yet another call for sacrifices on the part of the so-called rich. The next surtax would then already be programmed.

Thus the annual report does not mark a turning point. It is essentially no more than a risky forecast full of conflicting bits of half-hearted concepts located somewhere between growth and redistribution.

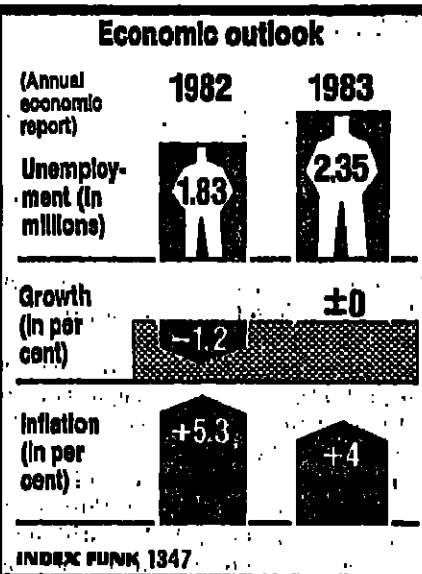
The various lobbies will take note of the report, complete with all its empty though millitious formulas.

But neither labour nor management will be able to find a clearly charted course in this report.

The government can postpone decisions on the further economic course until after the March general election, but it cannot evade a decision forever.

We now have an annual report, but the timetable to go with it is still to be supplied.

Hans D. Barbier
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 January 1983)



Export credit guarantees derestricted

The Bonn government is making a bid to boost the export business by adopting a more liberal stance on export guarantees.

As the annual economic report puts it: "Adequate export guarantees are a necessary support measure for the German export business and job security."

The government regards this as an effective instrument with which to ensure German competitiveness on international markets without subsidies.

Many German exporters find themselves in straits because their customers in such countries as Brazil, Mexico and a number of others suffer from national current account deficits.

These countries depend on additional international Monetary Fund loans, which means that they have to accept IMF terms and put their balances of payments on an even keel.

The same applies to inflation. And this they can only cut by curbing imports.

The February IMF conference in Washington is expected to come up with new concepts that would enable these countries to maintain their imports with the help of private banks. The Bonn government intends to support this move by export guarantees.

In addition, Hermes export credit regulations for such countries as South Africa and Iraq, where export guarantees for individual projects have been limited to specific amounts for political reasons, are to be relaxed. Bonn hopes this will help boost exports.

This year's Bonn budget has increased the amount earmarked for Hermes guarantees from DM160bn to DM180bn.

Last year's line was utilised to the extent of DM150bn.

New guarantees will thus rise against 1981 from DM35bn to DM39bn. The rest of the amount is accounted for by old commitments.

The quota of government-guaranteed exports rose from 7.7 per cent in 1981 to nine per cent in 1982.

Claims against guarantees rose from DM765m to DM930m during the same period. Revenues from premiums and so on outstripped claims by DM34m in 1982. In 1981, there was a shortfall of DM45m.

1983 is also likely to close in the red due to the rescheduling of Polish credits. It could amount to as much as DM1bn.

Bremer Nachrichten, 25 January 1983

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Two volumes are already in print. They are:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 22.80;

Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80

They will be followed in March 1983 by:

Africa, app. 115 pp., DM 19.80;

Europe/USSR, app. 190 pp., DM 24.80.

Look it up in Brockhaus

Nazi take-over as seen from Berlin — an eye-witness account

Robert Kempner, who wrote this article, was a legal adviser on police affairs at the Prussian Interior Ministry until Hitler came to power. He emigrated to the United States, taught at several universities and served as an adviser to the US Justice and Defence Departments. He was assistant chief prosecution counsel at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal. He has written several books about the Third Reich and now practises law.

On 31 January 1933, half a century ago, I arrived at work to find I had a new boss at the Prussian Ministry of the Interior on Unter den Linden in Berlin.

The new man at the Ministry was Hermann Goering. The day before he had been appointed Minister without Portfolio in Hitler's Cabinet by President Hindenburg.

He was also entrusted with running the affairs of the Prussian Interior Ministry.

For years the Berlin police and the Prussian Interior Ministry had investigated Goering's criminal activities as a leader of the Nazi party.

The Nazis were classified as a group hostile to the state and to the Weimar Republic, as a party of high treason. As legal adviser to the police department at the Ministry I had been intimately associated with these investigations.

Bismarck, once said that to control Prussia was to control the Reich, and control was now exercised by the Führer's deputy, a man intent on destroying the Weimar Republic, which he succeeded in doing.

Oddly enough, the files on the Nazis' criminal activities were kept only a few doors away from the Minister's office.

In the first week after assuming power Goering had a henchman collect

from the police headquarters all the files on Nazi leaders.

Between 1928 and 1930 votes polled by the Nazis increased from 810,000 to 6,400,000. Nazi activities, legal and illegal, increased and grew more aggressive.

Officials at the Prussian Interior Ministry, which was responsible for safety in the Weimar Republic, were most alarmed.

Interior Ministers Albert Grzesinski and Carl Severing considered energetic measures to curb the Nazis, the SA and above all the Führer, Adolf Hitler.

The political department of the Berlin police was commissioned to make a detailed survey of the many indictable activities by Nazi officials.

It was to probe the legal status of the Nazi party and check whether it qualified as an association hostile to the state in accordance with the criminal code.

Hitler himself, many Nazi officials and the party were found to warrant prosecution on charges of indictable offences.

A memorandum on these findings was submitted by Prussian Premier Otto Braun to the Reich government, led by Chancellor Heinrich Brüning.

The Nazi party looked like being banned. But on 19 December 1930 a ban was ruled out by the government, mainly because of confidential negotiations between members of the Reich government and the Nazis.

Otto Braun and the Prussian government again approached the Reich in a bid to have the Nazis banned on 4 March 1932. In a handwritten note to Chancellor Brüning he made an impressive plea for a ban to be imposed on the basis of a Presidential emergency decree.

He appended a 236-page memorandum and further incriminating material, but the memorandum was allowed to gather dust at the Reich Chancellery and some of the material intended to be submitted to President Hindenburg was even destroyed.

Prussian never did receive a reply, yet Hitler had announced in the meantime that heads would roll once the Weimar system was eliminated.

Wilhelm Frick, Nazi floor leader in the Reichstag, had said much the same in parliament.

If the Reich government had acted on

Prussian advice from 1930 Hitler could have been brought to a halt and the misfortune he brought on Germany and Europe have been prevented.

The Nazi party would have been banned. It had lost votes heavily in the December 1932 general election.

Hitler could have stood trial on charges of high treason and perjury and been deported as an unwanted alien.

Despite the 1930s Depression a terrorist dictatorship need no more have come to power in Germany than anywhere else.

At the Prussian Interior Ministry it only gradually dawned on many officials that the new Minister was not just yet another new man at the helm.

Goering's arrival meant the beginning of a system of terror all over Prussia, which made up two thirds of the Reich.

Only a few friends and I sensed the significance of the change. I had written in 1932 that blood justice would reign in future.

Goering was a fast worker. In Hitler's 12-man Cabinet only he and Frick were Nazis, so he was determined to gain control of the Prussian machinery of power without delay.

He called a meeting of senior officials, about 40, and told us we could work loyally alongside him. When I got back to my office there was a note asking me to contact the personnel officer.

I and 12 others were suspended from duty from mid-February.

Goering's new head of the police department was Ludwig Gruert, an SS friend of his who went on in 1935 to become an SS brigade commander.

His predecessor, Erich Klausener, a leading Roman Catholic layman and a key Prussian civil servant, was soon sacked; on 30 June 1934 he was murdered.

I conducted a detailed investigation into his murder at Nuremberg.

On the same day as my suspension from duty was published in the Press the newspapers carried reports of the appointment of Rudolf Diels, a fellow-Ministry official, as head of a new Gestapo department.

Diels was a decided adventurer, highly intelligent but quick to change his convictions. He gradually switched allegiance from his patron, the former democratic state secretary Wilhelm Abegg,

for the nation's two major political parties to agree on a joint programme.

If both lay claim to being popular parties and thus not wanting to hurt any segment of the public their programme must become an ambiguous medley.

If, on the other hand, they want to set genuine political accents, be it in a drive to reduce unemployment or to make a German contribution to international disarmament, there is no ground on which they can meet.

But by the same token there is also no common ground with the Greens on those two major issues.

Never before has it therefore been so important for the voter to exercise his voting right. He must give a clear mandate to one of the big parties because any fragmentation would be disastrous.

Fritz Aschku
(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 26 January 1983)

first to Franz von Papen, then to Goering.

Diels became a confident chief and some years later Goering's sister-in-law.

Early in February 1933 Goering trusted him with compiling lists of opponents of the regime in the event of an uprising.

They were mainly to include Democrats, left-wing Centre Party, pacifists, Communists and Jews.

Goering relayed names to the latest success story of the protest to abandon the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal project.

He told me the list would be signed by 740,000 people all over names of many erstwhile country.

So it did. Names listed on a date to be fixed included:

● Carl von Ossietzky, the Nobel laureate, who died in concentration camp.

● Ernst Heilmann, SPD leader in the Prussian state assembly, who was murdered.

● Kurt Grossmann, general secretary of the Human Rights League, who was able to escape.

● And even Albert Einstein, already abroad.

A few days after the list was up the Reichstag went up in flames on the 27 February 1933. That night a number of politicians, including those on the list, were arrested.

The canal, a strip of water 55 metres wide, part of an inland waterway system crossing 3,500km of Europe, has in the past been a source of pride for the people who lived along its banks.

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RHINE-MAIN-DANUBE CANAL

'Missing link' valley is in canal's favour

Burgomaster Josef Schneider's office the three o'clock news leads with latest success story of the protest to abandon the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal project.

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Not long ago he repeated this undertaking in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse*, even adding that to abandon the project now would be intolerably short-sighted.

But in Kelheim, Essing and Riedenburg people are well aware that Chancellor Kohl's junior coalition partners, the Free Democrats, are keen to see work called to a qualified halt.

This cannot be taken to mean much less than curtains as soon as possible, while at election time environmentalists are in a good position to lean heavily on political parties.

Given the forthcoming general election the Nature Conservation Association has called on people all over the country to ask candidates what their views are on the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

Voters ought, the environmentalists say, to make the views given one yardstick by which they decide who to support at the polls.

Will Bonn Cabinet Ministers at the Chancellor's Office shirk taking a clear decision as they did last December, valley-dwellers wonder.

In Riedenburg, which prides itself on being the pearl of the lower Altmühl valley, people would fail to understand any further fence-sitting by Bonn.

"We must get on with our planning," they say, and Burgomaster Schneider explains how urgent the problem is.

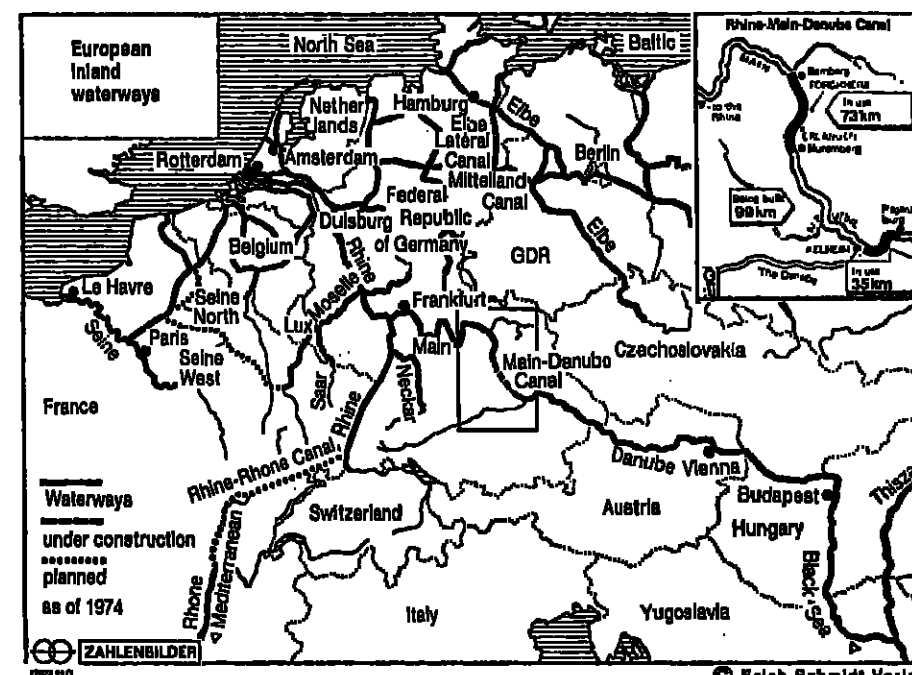
Since 1952 there have been plans to reroute the main road to Ingolstadt, but trucks still trundle through the *Altstadt* along a road only 4.50 metres wide.

What is more, in spring when the snow melts the water level of the Altmühl, which is a harmless brook in summer, rises and floods the cellars of the old houses that line the banks of the river.

If the canal were completed there would be no more floods. So Herr Schneider and neighbouring mayors would like to see the bulldozers and earth-moving equipment move in as soon as possible.

"There are no two ways about it," says Friedrich Wambgsanz, mayor of nearby Roth, who owns up to his views without hesitation: "I am in favour of carrying on with the canal."

Mayors of local authorities along the route of the canal know from town mee-



tings and countless conversations with individual local people that opinion is solidly behind them.

Not all of them were originally in favour of the canal, of course. Many were against it but then decided it was inevitable and might as well be fully accepted.

"Once you start something you have to finish it," says Heubach farmer Richard Harrer, who reluctantly had to part company with three hectares of arable land and one acre of woodland.

"If work were to be abandoned now," he says, "it would be a crying shame after everything that has been done so far."

Most local people, farmers, are not unduly concerned with whether or not the canal will be economic. Too many figures have been bandied about by countless experts.

They are not much worried whether 52 or 98 pfennigs of every mark invested in the canal will be recouped.

The first figure was forecast by Prognos, the Basle market research institute, for former Bonn Transport Minister Volker Huuff.

The second was forecast by the Ifo Institute of Munich for the Bavarian state government.

Such forecasts don't much interest local farmers one way or the other; most have already worked out what they stand to gain from completion of the canal.

Now there is no more flooding in parts of the valley where the canal has already been built they can drive their tractors down to the flood plain meadows and plant high-yield maize where they used only to be able to mow grass.

Professor Reinhard Grebe, a land-

scape planner hired by the canal company to heal the scars left behind by construction work, is unhappy.

He once drew up a landscape plan that was approved by environmentalists and is as worried as they are about the damage to marsh flora and fauna.

But that does not deter the farmers. Local towns along a canal that is by no means everywhere a strip of concrete in the landscape, as opponents would have us believe, likewise hope to benefit.

Roth has invested nearly DM3m in a port facility where a small but flourishing industrial and commercial zone is envisaged.

Riedenburg has also embarked on industrial development and reports initial success even before the first canal boat has berthed.

Six small and medium-sized companies have been set up, including a small shoe factory.

Valley-dwellers were worried about the effect the canal might have on the tourist trade. When construction work began and was given Press publicity, holidaymakers did indeed begin to show less interest in the area.

In its best holiday season, 1977, Riedenburg totalled 110,000 bednights. The number dipped to less than 100,000 but is now picking up again.

"Our holidaymakers don't feel disturbed by the canal," says Herr Schneider.

Valley-dwellers have set up a protest group of their own to campaign in favour of the canal and not leave the field wide open to its opponents.

They have collected 45,000 signatures locally. "We want to be a strong and effective counterpart to opponents of the canal," says Burgomaster Fritz Mathes of Kelheim.

He is unimpressed by the 740,000 signatures against the canal collected nationwide. Most of them, he says, were by people who had never seen the Altmühl valley.

The best way to convert opponents of the canal, says Mayor Schneider of Riedenburg, is for them to see it for themselves.

But that too can lead to misunderstanding. Take the tale of the angler from north Germany who unwittingly spent four hours fishing on the bank of the new canal, happily landing one fish after another.

Chatting with a local angler he innocently said: "Our angling days will be over, of course, once they build the canal here."

Peter Schmalz
(Die Welt, 26 January 1983)



At Hilpoltstein the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal comes to a dead end. The unfinished section, to Kelheim and the Danube, runs through the Altmühl valley.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

■ THE ARTS

Kipphardt's Eichmann play premiered in Munich

After attending Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem Hannah Arendt referred to the banality of evil.

This banality is what Heiner Kipphardt deals with in his play *Bruder Eichmann* (Brother Eichmann), directed by Dieter Giesing at the Residenz-theater, Munich.

Adolf Eichmann was the Nazi civil servant largely responsible for organising the "final solution" of the Jewish problem for Hitler and Himmler.

Eichmann was hanged in 1962. Kipphardt, a documentary playwright (his best-known play is probably *The J. Robert Oppenheimer Case*), died last November.

His last, posthumous play is definitely his most consistent in its documentary character. It is based on authentic conversations between Eichmann and an Israeli police officer, Avner Less.

In the Munich production Eichmann is played by Hans-Michael Rehberg, Less by Horst Sachtelboen.

The interviews took place during Eichmann's 19 months in custody in Israel, ending when he was hanged on 31 May 1962.

Transcripts of the tape recordings show the man who organised the transport to ship millions of Jews to concentration camp and the gas chamber to have been anything but a monster with bloodstained hands.

He was a decidedly normal person who protested that he had never, never had anything to do with killing and merely carried out orders given to him by his superiors.

The discrepancy between the individual, his life story and the excuses he made for the stupendous crimes against humanity for which he was responsible inasmuch as he coordinated the logistics is grotesque.

It appears so grotesque, so banal and so dreadful that Kipphardt felt it was appropriate to entitle his play *Bruder Eichmann*.

The point of this disturbing, thought-provoking title is to remind us all that the head of the Jewish affairs department at the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* of the SS was, as a person, no different from you or me.

The message is that there is an Eichmann in all of us, someone who is prepared to do the dirty work (as long as it is merely a matter of "organising" it) provided he is reassured it is all in a good cause.

Eichmann seems in all seriousness and with a clear conscience to have felt himself to be a mere victim of a state he had served honestly and diligently.

He was a young man from a middle-class Protestant home. He had not been entirely successful either at school or at work.

But he was completely unpolitical and joined the SS more by coincidence and for the camaraderie than by design. He transferred to the *Sicherheitsdienst*, or security service, under a misapprehension.

He had imagined it was some kind of bodyguard service for high-ranking officials and state visitors.

When confronted with what went on at concentration camps he had a sinking feeling in the pit of his stomach ("I can't stand the sight of blood") yet kept on organising it as though it were the

most straightforward office work in the world.

For Eichmann mass destruction was just pen pushing. He saw himself as a white-collar worker, not a killer.

Kipphardt spent 15 years working on the play, sifting through the countless transcripts and making his choice of material.

He interspersed the conversations between Eichmann and Less with scenes designed to demonstrate the general validity and ever-present danger of his subject.

Dieter Giesing, the Munich director, stages the conversations in a cool, calm and collected manner. Eichmann is not portrayed as a prisoner behind bars.

At the front of the stage there are a table and two chairs, plus a tape recorder. On the right there is a washbasin where Eichmann spruces himself up now and again.

Hans-Michael Rehberg plays Eichmann as though he were a part like any other. He eagerly tells his tale, only occasionally betraying the slightest emotion, just as he is said to have behaved in the dock.

The banality of evil could hardly have been portrayed more tellingly. The part is a first-rate feat of memory and a distinguished acting performance given the emotion-laden nature of the subject.

It amply bears out Rehberg's reputation as a fine actor.

Giesing made do with only a handful of the 21 interspersed scenes envisaged by Kipphardt. They included a US bomber pilot in Vietnam, dourly obeying orders without so much as a pang of conscience.

Another scene showed an alleged woman terrorist in Italy being tortured. But even these few extraneous scenes were too many. The director would have done better to cut them too.

These references to the present day were like foreign bodies included for effect, especially Charles Brauer's sparkling display of Turkish jokes, intended no doubt to imply that the Turks are today's Jews.

After the interval Eichmann is seen talking with others, including a Canadian Protestant clergyman and his wife, played by Charles Brauer and Gundi Ellert, who are keen to save his soul. We also see Frau Eichmann, played by Ruth Drexl, who is still proud of her husband and convinced he will leave the court a free man. In the last conversation she makes it clear that Eichmann was a first-rate husband and father. But the second part of the play involved nothing more substantial. It made a more theatrical impression than the deliberately cool and level-headed stock-taking of the first act. It played on West Berlin

sentimentality and prompted only modest applause.

The first hour and a half, in contrast, shocked and embarrassed the audience so much that some left for home at the interval. They were exhausted and evidently felt that was the end of the play.

H. Lehmann

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 25 January 1983)



Hans-Michael Rehberg as Eichmann (right) and Horst Sachtelboen as Avner Less in Kipphardt's documentary play

Exhibitions all over country recall 1933 Nazi take-over

Politicians and historians are not alone in holding events to mark the 50th anniversary of Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on 30 January 1933.

The arts have also shown a keen interest in the anniversary. Two exhibitions have just been opened in West Berlin.

TV too has delved into the darker recesses of the recent past more often of late, screening both films and documentaries.

1933 — Ways to Dictatorship, at the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Berlin, covers the period from the ouster of the last democratic government of Prussia on 20 July 1932 to the abolition of free trade unions on 2 May 1933.

The exhibition features paintings by artists who were persecuted in 1933 and work by contemporary artists on the subject, some especially commissioned.

A series of lectures and debates is being held to accompany the exhibition.

The actor Carl Raddatz recited Tucholsky's *The Third Reich* at the opening of an exhibition of posters by Klaus Staack entitled *An Age Revised: 1933-1983*.

Other exhibitions in Berlin will deal

with Prescribed Architecture, Women in Fascism. On 30 January a season of films about the Third Reich will start in the Arsenal-Kino.

It will feature old newsreels, documentaries and propaganda films of the Hitler regime as portrayed in recent films. There will also be a series of Yiddish films.

Exhibitions in cities such as Aachen, Bochum, Essen, Dortmund and Duisburg feature a historic overview of the consequences of Hitler's seizure of power for the various local and their local resistance movements.

Malnz is running for four weeks. On 28 January a comprehensive exhibition in the Rathaus on National Socialist history is accompanied by a series of lectures.

Exhibitions on persecution of Jews and the Nazi burning of books are held in Wuppertal, Dortmund and Cologne in May.

From 18 January Dortmund is holding a lecture series entitled *Resistance at the Right Time*, to be followed on 28 January by an exhibition on *Exile and in February by a seminar on The Churches and National Socialism*.

The seventh Duisburg arts festival, entitled *Duisburger Akzente*, to be held from 3 to 21 May, will deal with the legacy 1933/83 — Fifty Years Onwards.

It will comprise exhibitions, films and screen performances.

From 27 January there is a three-day film seminar on *The Way to the Third Reich* in Oberhausen. In Saarbrücken the Camera city cinema is screening Joachim Fest's film *Hitler — A Case followed by a public debate*.

In Nuremberg a series of lectures, *Fifty Years Afterwards — A Chapter in German History* is already under way. Nuremberg also plans to set up a permanent exhibition on National Socialism in a stand of the former *Reichsparteitag* grounds where the Nazis held their mass rallies.

An exhibition about the youth movement 50 years ago is being organised at the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party in Hamburg.

TV programmes have repeatedly

Continued on page 15

CHILDREN

How Germans and Japanese see each other

Swastika and Butterfly is the title of an exhibition of paintings by Japanese and German schoolchildren illustrating what they know about each other's countries.

After touring Japan and Germany the exhibition is now on show in Berlin, edited by the arts department of the Berlin borough of Wedding.

The competition was arranged and the exhibition organised by the German-Japanese Association and the German Cultural Institute, Cologne, in collaboration with the Institute of Foreign Relations, Stuttgart.

Yutaka Ueda, 16, from Osaka sent in a 6-part picture he explained as follows: "When I think of Germany I first think about the Nazis, but then about a pair of Solingen steel scissors I have at home."

His painting accordingly shows guns against the background of a swastika on the left and scissors against the background of a black, red and gold German flag on the right.

He and other Japanese schoolchildren aged 10 to 20 from Sapporo to Kanagawa put pen and brush to paper to illustrate what they associated with Germany.

German schoolchildren from Berlin to Munich were asked to paint what they associated with Japan. There were 300 entries, of which 600 are on show.

It is upsetting to see how many children associate the swastika with Germany. The topics covered by the entries exhibited are said to correspond to their

step-parents may not be the ogres fairy tales make them out to be. The classic fairy tales paint a picture of life not true to reality where wicked stepmothers and stepfathers are condemned.

But psychological research has lately shown that the loss of either mother or father must necessarily be to the detriment of a child's mental and emotional development.

Dr Roland Schleiffer of the department of child and youth psychiatry at Frankfurt University psychiatric institute deals with the problem in the specialist journal *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie*, 4/82.

He writes that although wicked stepmothers may be dismissed as a fairy tale, the loss of a real-life mother or father and their replacement by someone else entail certain psychological risks for the child.

Can a child feel safe and sound with a new mother or father? That will depend to a large extent on how it comes to terms with the loss.

This essential internal processing of grief and mourning may be hampered by the feelings of the child or the relationship toward the former partner being ambivalent.

That will often be the case when the person in question quits the lives of mother (or father) and child by either divorce or suicide.

Small children in particular seem to have a hard time coming to terms with the ambivalent feelings, especially when they no longer are in contact with the lost one and can only deal with him

in their imagination.

frequency among the total number of entries.

The swastika, Nazis, the war and Holocaust accordingly make up a substantial proportion, with Hitler figuring prominently.

In one painting Hitler is depicted against the background of a present-day West German flag brandishing a beer mug and looking in bad humour.

Another Hitler is seen knocking back his tankard with a West German flag and a Volkswagen in the background.

Entries along these lines are not invariably critical. In some cases they may testify to covert admiration of the strong-men Germans.

Many youngsters' views of Germany are clearly influenced by American TV serials in which all-American GIs make short shrift of dumb Wehrmacht soldiers.

They are also influenced by the many publications that deal with Hitler and the Nazi era.

"Too little attention is paid in class to the history of the two German states," says Dr Günther Haasch of the German-Japanese Association.

The only Japanese schoolchildren to paint a realistic picture of everyday life in Germany are pupils at the Japanese School in Düsseldorf. But they are uncritical.

Much the same is true of pupils at the German schools in Tokyo and Kobe, whose entries depict skyscrapers, people dressed in modern clothes and rush-



The Berlin Wall as seen by Taketomi Yamada, 13, from Sapporo

(Photo: Catalogue)

hour Underground trains full of overflowing.

But these realistic views of everyday life in Japan are in the minority. German schoolchildren, like their counterparts in Japan, have a totally inaccurate idea of what life is like in the other country.

They concentrate mainly on stereotypes that have little to do with real life in Japan.

It is not just that Chinese and Korean characteristics are confused with Japanese. Japan is portrayed as an idealised, exotic country.

Japanese street scenes consist mainly of rickshaws. There are few indications of industrialisation, environmental pollution and overpopulation.

Only four entries dealt with Hiroshima and the Bomb. Instead, the empha-

sis was on geishas, tea-houses and pagodas, Madame Butterfly and kung-fu.

The way Japanese schoolchildren see Germans makes you stop and think. Are we really like that? And isn't it time we reappraised our prejudices about the Japanese too?

The exhibition shows that young people in Japan know more about Germany than we know about Japan, but in both cases it is not enough.

In Japan the exhibition prompted a review of school textbooks. One can but hope it has a similar result here. It clearly illustrates the distorting effect stereotypes and prejudices have.

Rolf Brockschmidt

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 January 1983)

Learning to live without a parent or with a new one

This ambivalence can only be handled by one parent or the other being classified as either good or bad. The child's real mother or father, for instance, will be remembered as entirely good, whereas the step-parent is all bad.

This idealisation of the former parent can be a way, the only way, of salvaging the relationship with him or her.

For the remaining parents this approach is incomprehensible, especially when the former parent was anything but good, having been an alcoholic father or a mother who beat the child.

A mother may well complain that her child is so fond of his father, who "never cared a bit for the child when he was around."

The step-parent feels unfairly treated by a child that offloads all its frustration on to him or her.

He, in this case, will usually be only too keen to be on the best of terms with the child and will fail to see why his attempts to make friends are experienced by the child as a threat, the threat of losing altogether its relationship with the former parent.

Parents put their children on the spot, creating grave crises of loyalty, when they themselves say their former partner was a bad lot, often only to make the break more bearable.

But older children and juveniles who are still fond of the former parent will find this hard to bear. They are well

able to appreciate how out of all proportion such attacks on the former parent are.

In some cases the step-children sabotage any kind of satisfactory family life by retaining a fixation on the absent parent.

Dr Schleiffer feels such fixations could make it necessary to reappraise the relationship between parent and former parent.

Either may in effect be entrusting the child with the task of maintaining a relationship that has broken down.

This unconscious tug-of-war is a distinct possibility when the parent would consciously prefer to have nothing more to do with the former partner.

He, or she, may vociferously complain that the "ex" turned out to be a devil or a ne'er-do-well, whereas the new partner is a deliberately chosen counterpart to the erstwhile "mistake."

Yet unconsciously the remaining parent is still fascinated by a number of good, or even bad, features of the former partner.

The child is then imperceptibly entrusted with keeping in touch. It may indirectly be encouraged by its new parents to identify with the "ex" and develop traits attributed to him or her.

The mother or father can then enjoy the company of this junior substitute for the erstwhile partner without feeling a sense of guilt.

Rolf Degen

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 January 1983)



Life in Nazi Germany as seen at the Kunsthalle exhibition in

(Photo: dpa)

■ FOREIGN RESIDENTS

Ombudswoman
backs dual
nationality

The churches and the media have long sought to promote understanding for the problems of foreigners in Germany. Yet German resentment of foreigners seems if anything to be growing.

This prompted journalists Bonn's commissioner for aliens' affairs, Liselotte Funcke (FDP), had invited for talks to express doubts about the meaningfulness of their work.

She had some consolation for them. She told them it was true there had been a time when she had received more and more letters in which citizens polemicized against foreigners.

It was conspicuous that, while previous letter writers were largely anonymous, the writers now tended to give their names. But, she said, the influx of such letters has diminished in the past six months.

But how indicative is all this? The fact is that foreigners looking for an apartment still meet with mistrust and rejection, as the commissioner learned when, accompanied by our reporter, she visited the homes of some foreigners.

One was a Greek family. The furnishing of the apartment left little to be desired. The living room was dominated by the TV set, which is customary with foreigners because television is their most important means of staying in touch while abroad.

Behind the glass door of a huge cabinet there were displays of postcards and other souvenirs of the home country. The family was clearly proud of its dishwasher, but all these treasures had to be crowded into a very limited space.

Half the room was taken up by the cabinet. A room divider separated about a quarter of the floor area, which was used as the kitchen.

Depending on the time of day, the kitchen also served as a bathroom (with the blender next to the toothbrushes).

What little room remained was taken up by a couch, a small coffee table and the TV set.

The other room (the door had been unhinged and replaced by a curtain to save space) contained the bed for the family of four.

"The Greeks would be quite happy and in a position to pay more rent for a larger flat. But they have been unable to find one."

Said the wife: "When the landlord hears that we're foreigners, we're told that the place has already been taken."

A Turkish family living in similarly crowded quarters told us that they wanted to send their oldest son back to Turkey where he could stay with his grandmother.

The parents themselves want to return home in the next few years to spare their children, who are approaching school age, having to grow up torn between two cultures and two languages.

The intentions of this family show how problematic the ideas of Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann are. He wants to restrict the immigration of the children of foreign workers living in this country to a maximum age of six.

If this were enacted, the family would have to rethink. Having sent their eldest

boy to Turkey, they could not bring him back to Germany again.

Commissioner Funcke criticised the Minister's proposals, saying that "this would make the Federal Republic of Germany appear hostile to family life and a violator of human rights in the eyes of other countries."

She said she doubted that such legislation would reduce the influx of foreigners into Germany. Moreover, this would hamper rather than promote the integration of foreigners living here.

Since there would have to be an extended transitional period for constitutional reasons, many foreigners would bring their children to this country before the envisaged legislation comes into effect, she said.

In hardship cases, parents would in any event have to be permitted to bring their school-age children to Germany, and the dispute with the authorities that would inevitably arise in such cases would lead to a tide of court cases.

As she sees it, it would make more sense to step up efforts to integrate the foreigners who are already in this country. Many of the families visited by Liselotte Funcke told her about their vain efforts to find a kindergarten place for their children.

And since they cannot go to a kindergarten they enter school without a word of German, putting them at a disadvantage against their German schoolmates.

The second and third generation of foreigners who attended German schools for at least part of the time manage a lot better than those who came here as adults. But this also leads to conflicts between the generations.

A 20-year-old Turk, for instance, complained that, following traditions in Turkey, he was made to marry a girl picked for him by his parents at a much too early age: three years ago, when he was 17. His equally young wife backed him.

His main problem is that he will have to leave his wife and children to do a two-year stint in the Turkish army before he is 29.

This is one of the main reasons why Turkey is so reluctant to have its citizens living abroad renounce their citizenship. It needs young men for its armed forces.

Commissioner Funcke therefore suggests that foreigners wanting to take out German citizenship be permitted dual nationality.

In her concept, one of these nationalities would be dominant, with all rights and duties of a citizen, while the other would be dormant.

It would be wrong to believe that the foreigners in Germany pay little attention to Bonn's policy towards them. They attach great importance to political representation through a commissioner.

Friederike Hermann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 January 1983)

Continued from page 11:

would and I have to honour my promise."

That is why she signed the contract presented to her by the manager of the Philharmonie.

Karajan phoned her only a few days ago and advised her to keep out of the dispute, saying that this was a matter entirely between him and his orchestra.

Still, it is possible that Sabine Meyer, who is only 23, is a bit too young for an orchestra whose world reputation can only be compared with that of the Vienna Philharmonic.

She says she is not and also denies being over-ambitious.

Turks discrimination victims
Church conference told

My friend is a Turk, a spray-can graffiti artist had proclaimed on a Munich wall, Hans Harald Willberg told a seminar on Encounters with Turks held at the Protestant Church Academy in Tutzing, Bavaria.

What was special about it was that it was the only one of thousands of graffiti not calling for the Turks to be sent home. Even more gratifyingly, the cleaners had left it.

Among the predominantly German participants there was also a handful of German-speaking Turks who had overcome their "threshold fear" and had courageously walked into the venue.

Many were there out of deep personal commitment while others simply wanted to hear themselves talk. One went to the blackboard and wrote: "Industry Wanted Workers: People Come."

It was probably due to the predominance of Germans friendly towards the Turks that the Germans were even more vociferous in lamenting the lot of the Turks in their midst than were the Turks themselves.

The first one to speak, however, was a Turkish graduate engineer Ozer Ongül, 47, who has lived in Germany for 15 years and is married to a German.

He is on the Aliens Affairs Advisory Board of Starnberg district administration.

He outlined what it was about the Turks that bothered the Germans, saying:

"Our way of having fun is too loud; our eating habits too smelly; our working habits too slow; and out large families, our religion and culture are too different."

He conceded that the Turks had little rapport with technology and were therefore particularly accident prone. In a good-natured dig at his own fellows countrymen, he told a little joke:

"How do you recognise a Turkish passenger plane? By the porter sitting on top of the fuselage."

Mr Ongül described how difficult it is for Turks in this country to live with the Germans and above all "in harmony with German laws such as the Aliens Act, the Labour Office and its regulations, the Citizens' Register that has to be informed of every change of address and similar red tape."

He also deplored the gruff treatment by the authorities and in shops along with harassment on trains and buses, often culminating in such verbal abuse as "dirty foreigner!"

"The xenophobia all around us makes life very tough," he said.

In any event, ever since the public dispute in Berlin started, a dispute that could grind her down between the two milstones, the young clarinetist has received numerous offers from recording companies.

Naturally, she realises that she can't not play in the face of 120 hostile orchestra members.

For the moment, she simply wants to get away from all the fuss around her, perhaps to join her parents in Hohenlohe. She is very fond of the countryside there and would have plenty of time to dream of a horse, a dog, a farm.

Matthi Oeyer
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 January 1983)

OUR WORLD

Opel workers raise funds to help
US auto workers in Detroit

HEINISCHE POST

Come on, brothers, let's see the colour of your cash!" union officials who were round the assembly at Opel in Rüsselsheim, near Frankfurt.

They were collecting donations for workers in the United States during the morning coffee break and greeted German workmates how grateful they had been for post-war care from America.

Next to no time several hundred were collected in a whip-round and change and handed in at the Opel council office, where Aid for Detroit was being coordinated.

The fund-raising campaign in Rüsselsheim, where Opel, the German division of General Motors, has a payroll of 10,000, has made headline news on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the United States it has been hailed by both newspapers and TV as a gesture of solidarity, even though the Opel workers' union is critical of the Reagan administration.

Wink, chairman of the shop stewards' committee, says: "We have latered in the papers and seen on TV

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A young German woman who came to the meeting with her boyfriend deplored the lack of love in the Turks who live among us.

Said she: "Where are the 1,600 who live in this district and have invited to attend? Where are the German representatives and the claims? Prompting the cause of the only earns you derision. You can't approach a German with the Turks' claims."

One of the panel members told that a Christian must put up with maligned for showing sympathy trying to fight it out on behalf of fellow-men.

Wolf-Peter Sch...
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 January 1983)

time and again how badly off auto workers in the United States are at present, especially in Detroit.

"One man in four is out of work in Detroit, and two families in 10 are said to live below the official poverty line, while another 30 per cent are underfed. Remembering the help we were given by the US people after the war, we decided to start a collection."

Thousands of leaflets were distributed calling for donations for workmates in Detroit. Opel workers were reminded that people in Motown were suffering from hunger.

"If everyone in the company were to donate at least one mark it would be a gesture of solidarity with our fellow-auto workers in Detroit," the leaflets said.

Only a few hours after collecting began the chairman of the shop stewards' committee said donations were exceeding the wildest expectations.

The works council and shop stewards' committee have made contact with the UAW in America to ensure that donations are put to good use fast and effectively.

The funds raised are to go to soup kitchens where thousands of unemployed US workers can be sure of a bite to eat.

The Opel management (Opel is a wholly-owned subsidiary of GM) welcomed the fund-raising campaign but

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A package of full-length films is at the ready, complete with English subtitles.

The Federal Film Archives, Koblenz, have compiled a 15-part package entitled From Weimar to Hitler for universities.

It includes propaganda films by political parties, films on political youth work and the youth movement and documentaries about the repercussions of the Depression.

The package is bound this year for destinations including Australia, the Far East and Latin America.

dpa
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 10 January 1983)

Karsten Plog
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 January 1983)

Anti-nuclear
couple face
jail sentence

Frankfurter Rundschau

Ingeborg and Erich Matthies, from Tostedt, near Hamburg, would sooner go to prison than pay DM34,000 in costs they have been ordered to pay by a Koblenz court in connection with a nuclear power station case.

He is 68, she is 60. They may have to serve prison sentences of up to six months for refusing to pay.

This they refuse to do because they feel the court ruling is a travesty of justice. "Confrontation," he says, "is what we now want."

The couple also refuse to accept donations to help them foot the bill. Anyone who wants to make a donation is requested to remit payments to special accounts to meet the cost of further proceedings against the nuclear power industry.

"On grounds of conscience," Herr Matthies says, "I cannot pay; it would be a breach of the law as it now stands for me to do so."

He and his wife joined forces with many others in 1980 to wage a legal battle against a proposed nuclear power station at Mülheim on the Rhine.

The court ruled that the group of plaintiffs must be treated as individuals. The case was dismissed by two courts because the plaintiffs were felt not to have personal grounds for litigation.

So the proceedings foundered on a technicality. They never reached the stage at which the power station itself was discussed in court.

Herr Matthies feels the court ruling is wrong. The risks inherent in nuclear power stations affect everyone, he says. Genetic damage could even affect generations yet to come.

Herr Matthies, who is retired, and his wife, who is a sick woman, have been concerned about nuclear power for many years.

He refused to pay the DM34,000 in court costs awarded against him by the Koblenz court and the defendants.

The defendants were Rheinisches Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk, the power utility; Brown Boveri, plant manufacturers; and Hochtief, building contractors.

The creditors' lawyers then applied for an arrest warrant if the couple were to continue to refuse to comply with the court order.

Herr Matthies, whose father was a physician, wrote to his local court that he had no choice but to fight with all legal means available in keeping with the dictates of his conscience and the law as it stood.

Towards the end of last year the court issued an arrest warrant, but the couple (they have five children) have yet to be taken into custody.

They and others fought and lost court cases against other proposed nuclear power stations. The plaintiffs were at one stage a group of about 200 people.

But most have lost heart after losing their cases and having costs awarded against them.

Erich Matthies and his wife plan to hold out regardless of going to jail if need be.

Karsten Plog
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 January 1983)

Exhibitions

Continued from page 12

mindful viewers of the Third Reich, *Holocaust*, for instance, was screened again last November.

The last episode of Europe under the Swastika, a documentary series that began on 17 October, is to be screened on 30 January.

It will deal with the end of the Hitler era in Berlin.

That evening Channel One of German TV will screen Istvan Szabo's Oscar-winning *Mephisto*, a film based on Klaus Mann's novel.

Channel Two's coverage will include Bertolt Brecht's *Arturo Ui*, a study of Hitler's rise to power, on 25 January, followed three days later by a documentary on the life of resistance fighter Ludwig Gehm.

On 5 February Channel One will feature a live show from the Freie Volksbühne in Berlin, a programme of popular music by composers banned during the Third Reich entitled *What Was Verbotten Under Hitler*.

On 30 and 31 January Channel Two will screen a two-part TV version of Lion Feuchtwanger's novel *The Oppermanns*, directed by Egon Monk.

It tells the tale of a Jewish family in Germany in the 1930s. Interest has been shown in the TV right by Australia, Switzerland, Britain, Sweden and New Zealand.

The Nazi take-over has proved an evergreen at the 132 branch offices of the Goethe Institute in 65 countries. Seminars on the history of the period are being held for specialists in a number of countries.

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